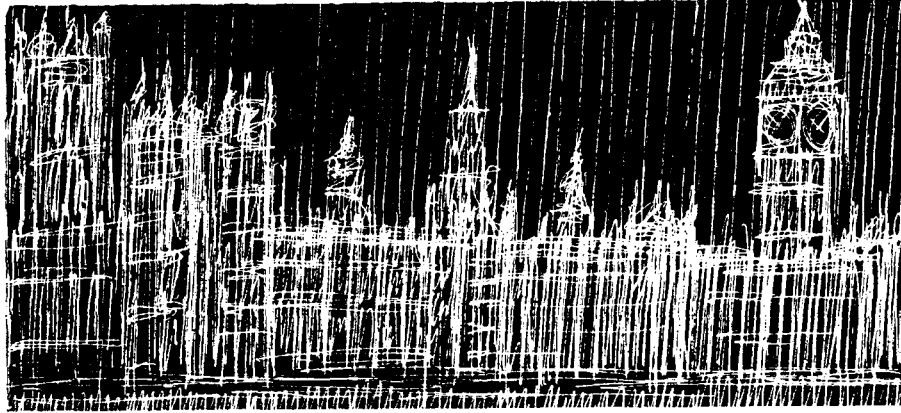


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CHURCHILL: TWO VIEWS

Andrew Boyle & J. M. Cameron

WHAT NEXT FOR 'THE MOVEMENT'?

Nat Hentoff

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

John G. Deedy, Jr.

DE GAULLE'S BOMB

Jean-Marie Domenach

CORRESPONDENCE



The Priest

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Your analysis of the place of laity (December 18) and their relation to the priesthood, omits one vital point: what is the function of the priest? Until now it was assumed that the Catholic Church is fundamentally a society of priests with people as a background divinely provided to support the priests. But Vatican II is changing all that.

In early Christian records priests are not mentioned. Our Creed states that the Holy Spirit speaks by the prophets, not by the priests: *per prophetas*, not *per sacerdotes*. They are not named. In the *Te Deum* the Church is said to consist of apostles, prophets, and martyrs—which means witnesses. “Priests” are not named. In the Gospels the only priests mentioned are the Temple clergy, who were instrumental in bringing about the crucifixion of Christ.

In the Epistles and the Apocalypse, the whole Church is the priest, as the body of Christ, the true High Priest. There are prophets, but no priests. Their place is taken by elders, *presbyteroi* in Greek. Our word “priest” is a contraction of that. These elders were the continuation in the Christian community of the governing body in every Hebrew community—for that matter in every community in the world. Seniors in high school and college, veterans in army and navy, eldermen (elder-men) in every city, perform the same function as elders in the primitive Christian Church; to counsel, guide and correct the younger members of the community.

In Latin the equivalent word would be *senatores*. But to call a Christian pastor a senator would have meant serious trouble with the SPQR. So the Greek word *presbyteros* was retained, until it was supplanted by the pagan word *sacerdos*—a giver of sacred things.

What then was the special function of the elders, the *presbyteroi*? Essential

to Christian doctrine is the teaching that the people themselves are the true sacrifice. Each must offer it for himself, as a member of the Mystical Body of the True Priest.

St. Paul writes to the Romans: “I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God,” which is your “reasonable” (i.e. voluntary) “service.”

It is the function of the elder—the presbyter—to prepare the people so that they may worthily share in the sacrifice by transubstantiation of themselves into the Body of Christ. Then they may say: “It is no longer I that live, but Christ Who lives in me.”

Only the bishop could offer and consecrate the elements of bread and wine. The presbyter prepared the people to offer themselves, united to Christ and to one another by the sacrament. Clearly it is necessary to undertake an agonizing reappraisal not only of the relation of the laity to the priest, but of the priest to the laity.

IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

Sukarno's Indonesia

Great Neck, N.Y.

To the Editors: May I use the time-honored means of a parable to illustrate a point? The time is 1980. Reacting to the American colonialist yoke which had stilted German national ambitions, a group of neo-Nazis overthrow the pro-American government, setting up a virulently nationalistic state which vows to remove every trace of “decadent Jewish-Communist western and American influence” from Europe. Reich President Sukönen states that since Germany is such a rich country, it could afford to halt economic development until fascist goals, the reuniting of all German peoples and the expulsion of America, were realized.

At this point the head of the pro-German John Birch Society went to Europe to report on the New Germany. When he came back, he reported that: the German economy was a total mess; per capita food production was down 75%; industrial growth, except for arms,

had drastically declined; inflation was rampant and workers were paid in kind; even business (in whose freedom the Birch Society had a great belief) was subject to draconian controls. Yet on the whole he was optimistic. He chided Americans for not understanding Germany's revolutionary spirit. He recalled a German peasant, living in semi-feudalism, who was half-starving, but whose “eyes lit up when I asked him if he was willing to fight to remove U.S. influence from England.” And he concluded, “in their efforts, the Reich leaders are sure of the support of their people.” The idea of *gelenkte Demokratie* (guided democracy), although on the surface contrary to Western beliefs, was really an old German tradition, with honorable roots (Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Hitler). It was silly to imply that the fact that Parliament was appointed by Sukönen limited free expression. The slogan, “Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer,” was, after all, a philosophy similar to the Boy Scouts’.

In his report, the Birch leader approved of Sukönen's successful campaign to liberate Czech, Polish, and Austrian Germans. He also supported the current *Gegenüberstellung* (confrontation) against America's tool, England, which, he asserted, was also a “guided democracy.” He concluded, “Like the Americans of 1800, who sought to drive Spain from their hemisphere, the Germans of 1980 will not rest until they remove that obstacle—Western power. . . . And it is useless for Westerners to judge Germany in the mechanistic terms of ‘aggression’” (the German air force was only bombing London every night). He even stated that it would be in U.S. national interests to befriend this Germany. For a non-aligned Germany “would be far preferable for the West than a hostile one that breaks all ties.”

To be sure, people had tried to placate Germany before, at the second Munich Conference, which granted Germans in Europe “self-determination.” (Sukönen refused to accept results which showed that many didn't want to rejoin The Fatherland.) Amer-

icans had even attempted to aid Germany, but Sukönen replied, "Geht zum Teufel mit eurer Hilfe!" (Go to hell with your aid). Thoughtful Americans began to realize that accommodating this particular wave of the future was slow national suicide. It was to this belief that the Birch leader objected. For old myths just had to be forgotten and be replaced by new realities.

Any relation between the above and Sidney Lens' attempt to whitewash Sukarno's pseudo-revolutionary, imperialistic regime (Jan. 8) is not coincidental.

STEVEN KELMAN

Responsible Laymen

San Francisco, California
To the Editors: Your editorial of December 18, "Toward a Responsible Laity," and the article in the same issue by George Traynor on Bishop John England's diocesan constitution of 1823 (not 1822, by the way), recalled to mind an address I gave at Carroll College in Helena, Montana, on May 27, 1962, an adaptation of which was carried in *COMMONWEAL* on the following June 22 under the title, "The Catholic Layman in America Today."

An astonishing number of inaccurate and misleading statements arose as a consequence of that address, a reaction that I trust you will be spared, for I can see no reason why your moderate tone and balanced judgments should offer provocation. On the contrary, I should hope that the editorial may mark a further step forward in our thinking on this highly sensitive but very insistent problem. *COMMONWEAL* of December 18 sent me back to reread my article of June, 1962, but I found nothing that would need to be changed in view of the statements on the laity contained in the Constitution *De Ecclesia* of Vatican Council II which you quote. Since I appreciate that your space is limited, I shall confine myself to three points.

First, I share Mr. Traynor's admiration for John England and the latter's uniquely successful method of ending the turmoil and abuse of lay trusteeism that pervaded so much of the American

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RAIDS ON THE NORTH

Last August, when the North Vietnamese PT boats fired on American naval vessels in the Bay of Tonkin, Americans wondered what Hanoi could possibly have had in mind in launching such a futile, unprovoked attack. After the retaliatory bombings, official Washington treated itself to elaborate speculation on the erratic North Vietnamese behavior. Little of this speculation centered on the interesting fact that American vessels had been inside North Vietnam's self-proclaimed 12-mile limit the night of July 31, when South Vietnamese forces were shelling offshore islands in the North. Although Washington insisted our ships were minding their own business that night, the North Vietnamese might be excused—in the light of considerable invasion talk in America—for seeing the matter in a different light. In short, Hanoi might not have seen the PT boat action as entirely unprovoked. At least the North Vietnamese action would have looked less futile and gratuitous if Washington had been somewhat more candid about the circumstances.

The lesson here is that one man's unprovoked attack is often another man's retaliatory raid, and to be perfectly sure about which is which, one must have a well-rounded confidence in official communiques and news stories. In the light of Washington's enormous power to construct in the public mind an explanation of events that might not be total, it is worth approaching the latest reprisal raids on the North with a certain amount of healthy skepticism. Is it possible that the guerrilla attacks were provoked by action in the North, or—as is the case in the Bay of Tonkin—by acts that can be interpreted as provocative? What assurances do we have that the attack on Pleiku was so markedly different from the ordinary raids and counter-raids that it had to be answered by three separate air strikes across the border? Washington has depicted the raid as a clear break from the pattern of war, as an exercise in escalation that had to be matched. Yet reports from the field say that a company of Vietcong, or less, took part in the raid, and as Charles Mohr, former

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correspondent in Vietnam, wrote in the *New York Times*, "This is not a large Vietcong assault. Many are much larger." Washington also insists that the attack on Pleiku was masterminded from North Vietnam and co-ordinated with attacks the same night at Tuy Hoa and a group of villages. Yet there have been many other such multiple attacks as a common feature of the war. One is entitled to ask why Washington is so sure of the deliberate planned nature of the simultaneous battles, and why it is so sure Hanoi was behind them. Guerrilla movements develop their own momentum and are notoriously hard to control. at any rate North Vietnam's role in the South has been consistently overrated; according to the best estimates only 2,500 guerrillas, a fraction of the total, are North Vietnamese. In view of the sentiment for extending the war, it is important that we are clear about the details here.

Other disturbing questions present themselves: Why three raids of reprisal? One seems sufficient to make the point. More can only raise questions about whether the United States is using the guerrilla attacks as a cover for aggression against the North, which, while arguable on its merits, has not been suggested in the Washington version offered to the press. Another question concerns the role of air attacks. In a guerrilla war that the American-South Vietnamese forces are losing, air raids constitute a dramatic demonstration of strength—the show of force by which the United States has the least to lose militarily. When and if provocation can be shown, the U.S. also has little to lose politically, in the eyes of the world. Yet the air attacks should not be allowed to becloud America's impotence on the ground, or the political instability in Saigon that rots the heart of the war effort. It is doubtful whether even massive bombing of supply routes of North Vietnam bases and cities would affect the war in the South very much. Apart from their use as reprisals, air raids demonstrate American determination and relieve a good deal of frustration, but they are essentially irrelevant to the problem at hand.

PRIEST CORPS

In itself, Cardinal Ritter's recent pledge to have ten percent of the St. Louis diocesan clergy serving in Latin America by 1975 has only the value of a significant gesture. The number of priests to be involved will probably be less than seventy-five. The strain imposed upon the St. Louis archdiocese will not be great. The contribution to the total welfare of Latin America could not possibly be very significant. But gestures backed by concrete acts almost always have a value which exceeds the statistics involved. In this instance, Cardinal Ritter is aiming not only to have his archdiocese do something of value in its own right, but he is apparently also aiming to stimulate other dioceses (and bishops) to do something similar. Should he succeed, then the number of priests involved in Latin America might well be genuinely significant.

Yet there is an even more important consideration at issue in Cardinal Ritter's gesture. As he pointed out when he made the pledge, there exists no structure in the Church responsible for the "advocacy of the Church's universal pastoral program" nor are there now any formal means by which individual parishes can take a direct part in the Church's world apostolate. What is perhaps most discouraging, however, is that the lack of effective structures is only a reflection of deeper deficiencies. Comparatively few Catholics, to begin with, have a lively sense of the bond which should unite every Catholic with every other Catholic. To be sure, much has been written about the "generosity" of American Catholics, their fine response to clothing appeals, mission drives, special pleas, and so on.

But what is this "generosity" for most Catholics? It is mainly a matter of putting money in an envelope for the "poor," for the "needy," for the "unfortunate"—almost all of them unseen, unknown, nothing but statistics which can be rattled off in a fund-raising sermon. Should one ask about the Catholic's sense of responsibility for non-Catholics, there would be even less to say. This is perhaps understandable. Only within the past few years has a conception of the Church emerged which lays heavy stress on the rich idea of community: the community of the Church and the necessary outreaching of that community to all men. But as in so many areas, the revolution implicit in this shift has not found expression on the local or parish level.

Cardinal Ritter's gesture, important as it is, suggests the need for an even greater effort. Is there any good reason, for instance, why prosperous North American parishes could not make themselves responsible for assisting poor Latin American parishes? Would it not be possible for a parish in the North to deny itself an expensive church, a richly appointed rectory, an elaborate school and settle for something less, using the money saved to help a sister parish in Latin America? There are already a number of priests in Latin America. Could not an individual parish ask one of them to send back a detailed list of the needs of some given parish, and that list in turn be encompassed as a genuine and very concrete challenge to the people of a prosperous parish in the North? For that matter, a Northern parish could send a team to a Latin American parish to see for themselves.

There is no difficulty in conceiving of ways to manage these things. What is not so easy is to convince prosperous Catholics that they ought to take the trouble to make a start. The typical North American parish is an almost wholly isolated unit, concerned only with the people within its borders. As difficult as it is to accept vast imbalances of riches in the secular world, it should be even more difficult to accept them within the Church. Yet almost everyone does, salving his conscience with a dollar dropped in the Sunday mission collection. That will no longer do. If the same kind of ingenuity which has created financially solid parishes in North America were turned to a broader, international use, the results could be momentous.

AFTER HITTING BOTTOM

Any citizen who appreciates the imposing value of the American system of political checks and balances might well feel concern over the preponderance of Democrats now in office. The full extent of last November's Johnson sweep has not been generally realized. Not only are there two to one majorities in both House and Senate, but an overwhelming dominance extends to state officialdom as well. Two-thirds of the governors of the fifty states in 1965 are Democrats, while Republican membership in the various state legislatures is at the lowest level since 1936—and could be further reduced when and if legislative reapportionment is carried out to the extent called for. All in all it can be said that Republican fortunes are at their lowest ebb since President Franklin Roosevelt's heyday.

Three recent developments could point to a turning of the tide and the possibility of restoring the advantages of a somewhat balanced two-party system. One of these is the replacement of Dean Burch by Ray Bliss as national chairman of the Republican Party. Negatively, of course, it means that Goldwater political philosophy is no longer directing party activity. It is said, in fact, that Mr. Bliss is not an ideologue. His specialty is campaign strategy. As author of a report that pointed out the need of building up his party's vote in the big cities and as one who accomplished much in getting out the party vote in his state of Ohio, Mr. Bliss is an expert whose efforts cannot fail to produce results. He is undoubtedly especially intent on winning back what was considerable Negro support for his party.

Then there is the formation of the Republicans for Progress, the successor to the Committee to Support Moderate Republicans which Charles P. Taft organized before the 1964 elections. The new committee, with its headquarters in Washington, will have a broader national membership and wider aims than its pre-election predecessor. Much will depend on how well it succeeds in vying with the Republican Coordinating Committee, which is under House-Senate leadership. The new Taft committee's views are said to be considerably closer to those of the majority of the nation's seventeen Republican state governors, among whom are several extremely able men. Republicans for Progress hope to strengthen the national image of the GOP—and to build up its record of achievement—by winning over Republican members in Congress to ideas which it believes to be constructive and greatly in the public interest.

A third force which could have potentialities for refurbishing the Republican Party and restoring a better two-party balance is organizing in the House itself, under the chairmanship of Representative Charles E. Goodell of upstate New York. Its immediate target is the 1966 elections, and much will depend how it goes about developing popular support. If it lives up to the demands of its title of Planning and Research Committee by making a respon-

sible study of leading national problems, it will have much to contribute to the development of needed Congressional legislation. To the extent that it is problem-directed, as it proclaims itself to be, it will merit wide encouragement. What is distinctly possible is that the combined effects of these various GOP efforts will be considerable. And if so, it will not be the first time in American history that a major political force has rallied from what appeared to be crushing electoral defeat.

POLITICS, ITALIAN STYLE

Catholics, unfortunately it seems, have a vested interest in Italian politics. Through the last half of the 19th century, the Church's opposition to the modern world paralleled the Papacy's opposition to a united Italy; and it was often difficult to ascertain which was cause and which was effect. The relationship between Church and State in Italy has been more complex during the 20th century. But the Church's presence has continued to be felt in Italian politics, particularly as a bulwark against Communism. After the war, Pope Pius XII and the Italian bishops wielded the platoons of Italian Catholic Action which under the aegis of Luigi Gedda, a close friend of Pius, entered politics in support of the right-wing of the Christian Democrats and in opposition to any "*apertura a sinistra*"—move to the left.

This policy, as so many others, ended with the coming of John XXIII. Pope John removed himself from Italian politics; resisted the pressures from right-wing Catholics who wished him to oppose the Christian Democrats' coalition with the Socialists; and refused to time his actions (such as the audience with Khrushchev's son-in-law) to the exigencies of Italian elections. This was the logical course of action for a "universal" Pope but one confusing to Italians, who, accustomed to Papal intervention in political matters, read more into this new restraint (e.g., that the Church no longer opposed Communism) than was probably there.

Pope John's policy has been reversed. Paul VI and the Italian hierarchy have clearly reacted to the gains the Italian Communists have made in recent elections. Paul has issued numerous warnings about Communism. The bishops issued a pre-election pastoral letter in 1963, shortly after Paul was crowned, denouncing all forms of Communism and calling for unity in Catholic voting—the traditional Italian shorthand for "Vote Christian Democratic!"

This renewed involvement in national politics has been reaching a climax in recent weeks. When Antonio Segni vacated the Italian presidency because of poor health, the Christian Democrats proceeded to tear themselves apart in thirteen days of balloting (by the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and regional officials) for a new president. Thanks at least partially to the Church's anti-Communist pronouncements, the party's right-wing swung new weight,

with the result that the Christian Democratic left as well as the personal followers of ex-premier Amintore Fanfani refused to support the party's official candidate. The consequent deadlock reached the point where many feared a deal between the Communists and Fanfani, a man long on social reform and personal ambition but often suspected of being short on zeal for parliamentary democracy. At this point, there is little doubt, the Vatican stepped in. The threat of a Vatican rebuke or possibly even excommunication was passed along to Fanfani; the traditional call for unity appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano*; and Fanfani withdrew his candidacy. Ironically, this meant the election of Social Democrat Giuseppe Saragat, a fact which did nothing to calm the fears of right-wing Catholics anxious about Christian Democrat-Socialist cooperation.

The matter has not stopped there. In the weeks preceding a crucial parley of Christian Democratic leaders, the office of Italian Catholic Action reportedly was humming with efforts aimed at restoring the party's unity. But the real danger was that this unity might be bought with extensive concessions to the party's right, a price which would threaten the continuation of the all-important "*apertura*." The danger seems to have been skirted. The party leaders agreed unanimously on a statement of loyalty to the "*apertura a sinistra*" and kept ritualistic anti-Communism to a minimum tolerable by the Socialists.

But will the Church? Shortly before the Christian Demo-

cratic meeting, Pope Paul received the long neglected anti-Communist "cells" of Catholic Action, the "civic committees" formed on the eve of 1948 general elections and headed by Luigi Gedda. Neither the committees nor Signor Gedda had ever been received by Pope John; and Paul himself, years before his coronation, had disapproved of the movement's objectives and methods. To this group, the Pope discoursed on the relationship between the Church and politics, encouraging the group to give "brotherly assistance" in guiding the voting habits of the citizenry, which is "besieged and entrapped by a dangerous and stormy pluralism of contrasting opinions." The Pope implied that the movement should steer clear of specific political issues and limit itself to those moral and social principles which should infuse all political activity. But his words were, as usual, ambiguous.

Certainly, Communism is a problem in Italy. The party has evolved toward democracy; but how far it has come and how far and how fast it will go, no one can tell. Yet over the years, the Papacy and the Italian bishops have shown no special wisdom denied to democratic politicians in dealing with Communism. On the other hand, their actions in Italy have often had unhappy repercussions in other lands. It would be unfortunate if the universal Church once more found itself entangled in Italian politics, a web from which the Church extricated itself only with the greatest pain.



WASHINGTON REPORT

THE DAM LESSON

Back in July, 1956, there was much enthusiasm in Congress and in the press for Secretary of State Dulles's decision to withhold American aid for the building of the High Aswan Dam, the major project in Egypt's economic development program. Since Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser was at the time being his usual difficult self, many Americans were pleased that we had at last decided to—in the words of one Congressman—"stand up to this tinpot tyrant."

There was somewhat less enthusiasm when Nasser used Dulles's decision as a pretext to seize the Suez Canal. And there was downright alarm when the protracted canal crisis that followed finally flared into open warfare as Britain and France attacked Egypt to regain the canal by force and Israel joined in for reasons of its own. Having helped to precipitate the Suez crisis, the Eisenhower Administration refused to permit its principal European allies to settle it by military force. With the United States playing a leading role, the UN forced a ceasefire that left President Nasser safe and triumphant.

Congress and much of the press has been acting in the

past month as if this history of little more than eight years ago had never happened. We have witnessed a really remarkable refusal to read and learn from the plain lesson of the past. That lesson is that if the United States is not willing to be ruthless enough to impose or permit its allies to impose a military solution in troublesome situations, then it has no choice except to follow the remaining alternative of peaceful diplomacy and live with the consequences, whatever they may be.

As far as United States-Egyptian relations are concerned, the consequences in the past several months have been irritating and have complicated the execution of U.S. policy in Africa and the Near East, but they have been no worse than might have been expected. No vital American interest has been harmed. Moreover, in some ways, the influence of the Nasser government has been helpful to the attainment of American objectives.

The most serious irritant has been Egypt's open support of the Congolese rebels. While we have been supporting the central government in the Congo and trying to calm the situation there, Egypt has been serving as a conduit for

the transmission of arms from the Communist countries of Eastern Europe to the rebels. But two points are important in this matter. First, the Congo does not represent a vital interest of the United States. Our motives there are predominantly humanitarian. As good members of the responsible world community, we would like to help the Congolese people sort out their problems without bloodshed and settle down to enjoy a happier life. If we should fail to achieve these aspirations and the Congo becomes either a tyranny of some kind or—more probable—collapses into a chaos of warring factions, that would be tragic for the Congolese people but not for the United States. Therefore, Nasser's attempts to promote a different vision of the future for the Congolese, although they run counter to our own, are not of crucial, overriding concern to us. A second point of importance regarding Egyptian-American frictions and rivalries in the Congo is that the Congolese and other black Africans living below the Sahara regard Egyptians and all other Arabs with some skepticism and reserve, notwithstanding those manifestos about all-African unity. In short, Nasser is likely to find he has been wasting his time by dabbling in the Congo.

Two Incidents

Two other irritants developed out of this Congo embroglio. A gang of Egyptian students protesting U.S. policy in the Congo set fire to the United States Information Service library. The background explanation offered by the Egyptians is that President Nasser does not like to curb these demonstrations because in his own student days, he used to riot against the British.

The police knew the demonstration was going to take place but did not expect it to "get out of hand." Whether this self-serving explanation is true or not, Egypt has offered partial reparations for the library and negotiations over additional compensation are in progress.

Next, an airplane owned by an American oil company was shot down over Egypt while on a seemingly routine flight to Libya. Here, too, the Egyptian government offers an explanation. The plane, it is said, had some resemblance to an Israeli plane; the pilot did not request advance permission to enter air space restricted for military reasons and was silent in response to repeated requests from Egyptian fighter planes to acknowledge his identity and destination. As for this incident, one can only observe that regrettable as it was, such shootings are bound to occur occasionally in that trigger-happy part of the world.

Its timing was significant, however, because it occurred at the same time as the library-burning and as the Egyptian spokesman at the UN was trying to outdo his African colleagues in denunciations of U.S. policy in the Congo. The U.S., he suggested, should be branded as an aggressor. This tough talk is disturbing to read in print in the next morning's newspapers, but one of the useful—though not avowed—functions of the UN is to permit everyone to blow

off steam. Worse remarks have been made at the UN before and will be again. American Ambassador Adlai Stevenson has a strong stomach for this kind of pepper-pot rhetoric and in a speech of his own, he counterattacked effectively.

Another American ambassador—Lucius D. Battle in Cairo—made his counterattack in private in a stormy interview with Nasser's chief deputy. Battle pointed out that the minimum good relations existing between the two countries could not continue if Egypt did not curb both its fiery students and its fiery speakers. Nasser, who at times reveals the vanities and sensitivities of an insecure debutante, took great personal offense at this firm, diplomatic language. He particularly resented Battle's observation that the U.S. sells Egypt large quantities of wheat and other foodstuffs in exchange for Egyptian currency which is of little value outside that country. In a speech shortly afterward, Nasser said that the United States ambassador "does not like our currency. I would like him to know that whoever does not like our currency can go and drink up the sea. If the Mediterranean is not enough, there is the Red Sea. We can give him that as well. As for American aid . . . we tell them 'thank you' and 'may you have plenty,' but we are not prepared to accept words and arrogance."

These are the classic words of a leader of a poor and weak country, especially one bedeviled by memories of ancient greatness and pretensions of present-day influence that cannot possibly be realized. Egypt, after all, is the country that has failed to "drive the Israelis into the sea," failed to lure the Sudan into its ambitiously named "United Arab Republic" or even to hold Syria within it, and has been tied down for more than a year in a frustrating profitless guerrilla war in Yemen. When Nasser and his Army colleagues look inwards more than a dozen years after the successful revolution that overthrew King Farouk, they see a country that has made some substantial progress but which still has severe economic problems. Those problems could not be overcome under the best of circumstances in less than thirty or forty years and even then, Egypt is still likely to be a relatively poor country. In short, an unintended slur on his currency by the American Ambassador can touch off in Nasser's mind a whole succession of what Dr. Peale would call, "negative thoughts."

It is against this background that the political contretemps of the past month has been acted out in Congress. Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, grumbled that aid to Nasser and to Sukarno's Indonesia should be reviewed. (Assistance to the latter country consists of one malaria-control project and a small Food-for-Peace program.) The Republicans in the House rushed into the breach and offered an amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill cutting off the last \$37,000,000 worth of shipments under a Food-for-Peace agreement due to expire on June 30. Of the 141 Republicans in the House, 128 voted for this amendment and none voted against it. The amendment carried because 76 Democrats deserted the majority to support it. The tem-

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porarily triumphant coalition consisted of the usual incoherent and contradictory elements. On the Republican side, there were midwestern isolationists who do not like giving aid to any foreigners; there were partisans wanting to embarrass the Administration and the House Democratic leaders on the first big rollcall vote of the session, and there were urban members seeking favor with Jewish voters back home casting a vote against Israel's principal enemy. On the Democratic side, liberal big city Congressmen wanting to cast a "pro-Israel vote" were joined by Howard Smith of Virginia and other Southern Tories who vote for all budget-cutting amendments.

The Administration, with a vital assist from Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, recouped in the Senate by, in effect, knocking out the House amendment on a 44 to 38 vote. Dirksen and five other Republicans provided the winning margin. The Administration won in the Senate with the argument which failed to sway the House—have personal confidence in President Johnson and don't tie his hands in these complicated foreign maneuvers. This time-worn argument has been used repeatedly over the last twenty years. It is entirely valid but it does not quite relieve the recurrent sense of frustration on Capitol Hill about Congress' role in the making of foreign policy. Most members of the House and Senate have confidence in President Johnson as they did in his predecessors but they have the feeling that the State Department resists expressions of sentiment from Congress and sabotages them wherever possible. On Near Eastern issues, Congress tends to see the State Department officials as "patsies" for the Arabs, while the officials tend to see the Congressmen as merely expressing pro-Israel sentiments for vote-getting purposes.

Fulbright's Role

Under a parliamentary system, the foreign secretary would bridge this gap between the legislators and the bureaucracy by standing up and defending to his political peers the expert judgments of his subordinates in the foreign ministry. Since the United States is not only not a parliamentary country but also has in President Johnson and Secretary Rusk two leaders who are poor at expounding and defending their foreign policies, this throws the whole burden on the chairmen of the relevant committees of the House and Senate. When Arthur Vandenberg and Tom Connally dominated the Foreign Relations Committee during the Marshall Plan period, they were able to discharge this duty. They had enough political sagacity and personal force to carry weight both in the Senate and the State Department. Senator Fulbright is not effective in this way. Although chairman, he still acts as if he were a freelance, rank-and-file member offering random criticisms and dissents. He looms as a much bigger figure outside of Washington than he does here. Representative Thomas Morgan, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is well-liked but not a commanding personality. Significantly,

the House leadership turned to Representative George Mahon, the new chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and not to Dr. Morgan (he is a surgeon on weekends) to make the main statement in what was really a foreign affairs debate. As a result, a comprehensive exposition of American policy toward Egypt was never forthcoming in either the House or Senate.

In basic moral and humanitarian terms, there is no difficulty about continuing the Food-for-Peace program in Egypt. No American wants to see people in Egypt or anywhere else go hungry. Nevertheless, it is true that the wheat and other foodstuffs which the U.S. sells for local currency under the Food-for-Peace program does represent substantial economic assistance to the Nasser government. This same government has been squandering sizable sums in keeping 40,000 troops in Yemen and has wasted much of its critically inadequate foreign exchange reserves in a frantic arms race with Israel. Is this kind of government worthy of American help?

Food plus an occasional technical assistance project or development loan do constitute a relatively cheap way of advancing two limited objectives. First, they keep alive some American diplomatic influence in Cairo. Despite harsh words, Nasser has not attacked Israel, and the protection of Israel's independence is a major American moral concern in the area. Nasser has also been responsive to American influence in taking a fairly mild attitude toward Israel's diversion of the water of the Jordan River. If he wanted to be reckless or if he were to fall from power and be succeeded by a more radical totalitarian figure. Egypt could close the Suez Canal to Western shipping or it could mount a major political campaign against the U.S. air base in Libya. It is worth dickering with Nasser to prevent him from doing any of these things.

Secondly, American aid underwrites our policy of working patiently over the long term toward an improved situation in the Middle East. Our aid may yet be able to alter the fundamental human and economic terms of that situation for the better. For example, local currency funds derived from the Food-for-Peace program have built scores of health centers in Egypt that give the peasants a better chance in life. If the drilling for ground water in the central Sahara proves successful, it could lead to the resettlement of Palestinian Arab refugees and possibly a major economic breakthrough.

Nasser demonstrated after Dulles cut off aid in 1956 that economic coercion would not deter him. Not even the threat—which partially materialized—of Western military attack deterred him. Under these circumstances, a low-keyed, patient diplomacy is the only remaining choice. Such a diplomatic policy cannot be subject to passing storms of emotional opinion even though the provocation is extreme. A policy cannot always produce immediate, visible results. A wise policy is one that in the most adverse circumstances keeps the door open for change and hope to enter.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

AN EDITORIAL DISSENT

JAMES O'GARA



CHURCHILL AS PROPHET



He never achieved his secret wish

ANDREW BOYLE

There will always be room for truly great men in the seats of democratic power, but the somber pomp and pageantry attending the burial of Sir Winston Churchill should blind no one to the fact that his death marks the end of an era.

The era began, tentatively, during World War One when Churchill, as First Lord of the British Admiralty, became responsible for the air defense of the nation. Later, after the first Zeppelin raids yielded to puny but still terrifying attacks by manned bombers of primitive design, the initiative passed to the new Royal Air Force whose champion Churchill remained in the post-war years. On the political side, he was one of the doughtiest supporters of airpower; and the true tenor of his vain predictions in the thirties about the growing menace to the free world of Nazi Germany lay in his profound realization of the odds in favor of Hitler's growing *Luftwaffe*.

The most curious feature of Churchill's splendid leadership in World War II was his private distaste for the policy of area bombing, that policy of wholesale destruction of enemy cities, block by block, which publicly he preached and appeared to relish. It was forced on him by events, or so he maintained in after years, just as he insisted that his advocacy of "Tube Alloys" (the Churchillian code name for the atomic bomb project) was forced on him by events. It is certain that the apocalyptic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the climax of the second air war represented the end of the era of airpower as an instrument of conventional warfare, while representing to Churchill personally the vindication of his earlier distaste.

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To Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, a former back-bench Conservative Member of Parliament and a warm collaborator with Churchill in the foundation days of the post-war United Europe Movement, the ex-Prime Minister once confided, with tears in his eyes, the crucial yet somehow reluctant part he had played in planning and promoting the destruction of Germany from the skies. He admitted that he still felt—and would go on feeling—the weight of that responsibility on his conscience.

Just a War Leader?

With his flair for history, and his critical power of assessing historic greatness, Churchill instinctively longed to repair the world-wide impression that he was merely an outstanding war leader—and little more. From the outside it looked as though ambition and a frenetic energy drove him on, between 1945 and 1951 when the British people had rejected him for a spell as Prime Minister, to advance the new cause of peaceful reconstruction-through-strength in Western Europe. It was not entirely so. Though he again appeared in the guise of a warning prophet at Fulton, Missouri, inveighing against Stalin and his Iron Curtain as he had once inveighed against Hitler and Mussolini, he proved in the later and more positive speech at Zurich that he had at heart a far more telling and constructive master plan than the containment of the Russians and their 175 divisions. He wanted to end the fratricidal causes of strife between France, Germany and other partners in his future "United States" of Europe as deeply as a committed Frenchman like Robert Schuman did. He failed in the end, for reasons that have so far been obscure.

I attended the Council of Europe session at Strasbourg

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in 1950 when Churchill caught the imagination of the West by his plea for a European Army, at that moment a first and apparently vital step towards closer integration. Many of the cities of Dr. Adenauer's Germany still lay in the litter of war-time rubble; the Korean conflict had just broken out; the chill fear was abroad that if Stalin now decided to strike at Europe nothing would hold off his massive forces for long. What Churchill succeeded in doing, before my eyes on that occasion, was to rally the depressed spirits of men whom war and its aftermath had tried too much. His efforts brought Western Germany into the European family again, enabled Schuman to launch his idealistic yet highly practical scheme for merging the coal and steel resources of France, Germany and the Benelux countries, steadied the nerves of these and other nations, and raised the hopes of millions. Less than nine months later those hopes were further heightened when the British electorate turned out Attlee's Labor Government and Winston Churchill became Prime Minister for a second time. It was taken for granted that the cause of a United Europe would become at once the cornerstone of his home and foreign policy: it seemed that the Old World, revitalized in part by Marshall Plan aid from the New, was about to leap forward under its own impetus and the peace-time leadership of Churchill. The hope and the assumption were dashed to fragments. Why?

There are two reasons. The first is that Churchill found stiff opposition to his personal dream from his colleagues in the Conservative Government, notably Anthony Eden, and from the party machine behind that Government. The

second reason, and the more ironical, is that Churchill, by now in his 77th year, lacked the reserves of vigor and resolve required to surmount all opposition as he had often done at critical moments in the past. While privately urging his erstwhile friends in the European Movement to "keep up the good work until I can back it officially" he publicly turned his back on the Europe he had half-raised from the dead. Old age ensured that he made his attempted *coup* as a man of peace too late in life. Posterity will remember him as a captain-general, as a bulwark of the freedoms when these were imperilled in possibly the last global war the human race dared to wage, now that we live in an era of thermonuclear space weapons capable of extinguishing aggressor and victim alike.

Had Churchill been less of an eighteenth century giant—realist of the twentieth century though he could be at his best—he might have achieved his secret heart's wish. Had he been returned to power in 1945, the unification of Europe might have gone hand in hand with the rebuilding of Britain. His record between the wars was against him: he was one of the least successful Chancellors of the Exchequer of this century, for instance, and his natural interest in the social and economic problems of the period was small. His temperament was equally against him. Being a man of deep emotions rather than of reason, he could be dogmatic and petulant—just as in the larger issues of war and conquest that dominated his era he proved himself farsighted, magnanimous and strong. Even so, and despite his weaknesses and failures (especially the last and least known), the free world will not look on his like again.

CHURCHILL AS WHIG



His picture of the past was highly theatrical

J. M. CAMERON

It was a curious experience for me to watch Churchill's funeral on American television in South Bend, Indiana. To the north lie the great lakes, to the south the hills of Kentucky. Everywhere the place-names speak of French explorers and missionaries and of the European origins of those who cleared the forest and built the towns. Within a few miles of South Bend one finds Plymouth, Warsaw, Rochester, Birmingham, Ossian (can this really be a commemoration of Macpherson's epic?). Lafayette speaks of

the two great revolutions of the new world and the old. Fort Wayne recalls the wandering of the peoples across the mountains and over the plains to the West. Mishawaka and Kokomo remind us of the earlier inhabitants of the land and the melancholy history of their corruption and betrayal by the European immigrants. Everything speaks of Europe and its history.

But as I watched the great pageant in London, a strange mingling of a Christian ceremony with the funeral rites of a pagan warrior, it was as though I watched events that belonged to another world, another tract of time than this, midwestern America in the nineteen-sixties. And yet, as the place-names on my map tell me, the old world and

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the new are linked in history; and the death of Churchill, the man who saved the independence of Britain and presided, despite himself, over a series of events that could only lead to the liquidation of the old British Empire, marked the end of an age for both peoples.

The greatness of Churchill was a product of his historical consciousness. It was in part a false consciousness. His picture of the past was a highly theatrical version of the Whig interpretation of history, one which highlighted the activities of great soldiers and statesmen seen a little larger than life and neglected any account in depth of the economic and social movements without which the modern parliamentary system used with such skill by Churchill could not have come into existence.

The elements of theatricality and pastiche in Churchill's historical outlook are perfectly expressed in his prose style. This is much admired by persons of no literary taste. Fresh from a diet of detective stories and middlebrow novels, they at once find in his works what they can recognize as pieces of fine writing. One has only to compare these pieces with their models, with Gibbon or Burke or Macaulay or Acton, or with writing by such a genuine master of the rotund and mannered style as Tawney, to see how frequently Churchill's style sinks wretchedly far below his models and shows traces of vulgarity.

There is a time of greatness, when he truly becomes a master of the twofold logos, the thought and the word. This was the period of his remarkable speeches in the House of Commons and on the radio in the year 1940. This was also his moment of greatness as a political leader. At this moment what was fundamentally a kind of aestheticism in life and literature was raised to a new level. The moment of fantasy, most aptly represented by the formula of a Buchan adventure story, is suddenly the moment of truth. Everything hangs upon the fortitude of one man confronting the dark forces of this world, this aeon. In his adequacy to *this* moment lies Churchill's greatness. This was well understood by the British people when they decided that the war leader was not the man to be entrusted with the making of the peace and the transition to a peace-time economy.

Quite apart from his moment of greatness, Churchill was, of course, a wonderfully able and interesting man. His energy was extreme, his gusto for life and its pleasures was ferocious. He was immensely ambitious, but it was a principled ambition. He aspired to a great role on the stage of the world, not to a seat in the Cabinet. He was much criticized in his earlier career for the ease with which he passed from one party to the other. But this fickleness was a consequence of his interest in causes and principles. In the 'thirties he had nowhere to go, for on two capital questions, the future of India and the policy to be pursued towards Germany, he disagreed with the Tories and with the Liberal and Labor parties as well. On the former question his judgment was bad, on the latter it was sound; and it was the soundness of his judgment on Germany that made it necessary in 1940 that he should become Prime

Minister if the British were not to follow the miserable example of the Vichy French.

Churchill never showed much understanding of religion and it is doubtful that he ever thought of it as intrinsically important, important, that is, outside the context of that version of the English historical tradition he believed in and propagated. He was in many ways—not only in his splendid propensity to weep in public—a man of the eighteenth century for whom a Christianity established by law and linked with the monarchy was one of the decencies of life. But one guesses that he would not have found the deep and melancholy piety of Dr. Johnson sympathetic; and he certainly lacked that rich knowledge of Scripture and theology that is the strength of Burke.

One aspect of his war-time leadership cannot be passed over. Under the pressure of the military situation he supported vigorously, though perhaps with inner qualms that betrayed themselves for a moment after the destruction of Dresden, the policy of area bombing. This was a deliberate abandoning of the policy to which the British Government was then committed; and the Government was at first so queasy over the change that, as the official history of the war in the air makes plain, Sir Archibald Sinclair was put up in the House of Commons to deny that there had been a change in policy.

That all means, including the massacre of civilian populations, are permissible in war when the cause itself is just is now widely believed. This belief, shared by many Catholics (at least, if silence implies consent), is so much at variance with the whole theological tradition, not to speak of the spirit of the Gospel, that the historic responsibility borne by Churchill and the other Allied leaders can scarcely be passed over without mention. The gale of history blew so strongly in those days that it is scarcely conceivable that a political leader should have stood against it and survived. But what is inevitable may also be tragic; and the massacres, in Germany and Japan, that marked the closing stages of the war must always be remembered as moral disasters for the Allied cause.

Of the great men of that period only De Gaulle now remains. On the television screen his was the commanding presence at the funeral ceremonies. He shares the Churchillian contempt for short-term political calculation; he, too, almost alone, saved the independence of his people; he too accepts the possibility of nuclear destruction as a harsh necessity of the time. It is an unmerited grace of our period that for Catholics a new historical perspective, a different conception of what it is for man to be great, has been realized through the gift to the world of Giuseppe Roncalli, John XXIII.

Such were my thoughts as I watched through the winter day the procession from Westminster Hall to St. Paul's, the ceremony in Wren's cathedral, and the passage of the coffin up the river to the south bank; and reflected upon the great and terrible histories of the two countries, Britain and the United States.

WHAT NEXT FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT?



NAT HENTOFF

In November, 1963, when Bayard Rustin urgently advised a Washington conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to create an "overall social and political reform program" in addition to demonstrations and voter registration campaigns, his speech was news. It made the front page of the *New York Times* and intensified the debate within the civil rights movement concerning long-range goals and the kinds of tactics that could best accomplish those goals.

A little more than a year later, the approach called for by Rustin has become the consensus credo of nearly all the established civil rights groups. There are differences of emphasis and perspective among them—Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Robert Moses of SNCC, for instance, have quite diverse views of what a "new society" should be. But fundamentally, all sections of "the movement" have agreed on the necessity for going beyond—though not abandoning—militant direct action campaigns in order to attack the roots of the problems compressing the American poor, black and white. These problems, of course, are jobs, education and housing.

In an acceleratingly cybernated society, demonstrations to end discrimination in business and craft unions will be only peripherally useful if there are not nearly enough jobs for the unemployed and underemployed. Picket lines and school boycotts to integrate the public schools will not be enough to assure the massive funds needed to radically improve those schools. Demonstrations to integrate new housing developments and previously all-white neighborhoods will only benefit a very small percentage of Negroes, but will have no effect on the millions of poor imprisoned in the ghettos.

Along with the recognition that "the movement" had to

move beyond civil rights, there was the corollary facing of the fact that it had never been able to recruit the masses of Negroes. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, could be credited in large part to the cumulative efforts of "the movement" during the preceding three years, but that bill did not change the way in which the majority of Negroes live in Central Harlem or the South Side of Chicago or in other urban concentration camps. Not being able to involve the masses on the basis of this "achievement," the civil rights groups had to devise other methods, and that could be done only by convincing the black poor that "the movement" was engaged in combatting the day-to-day difficulties of ghetto life. And this meant an assault not on lunch counters or theaters but on jobs, education and housing.

Change in Tactics

Accordingly, CORE, following long internal dissension which resulted in the departure of its astute program director, Norman Hill, finally adopted the essence of Hill's position by the fall of 1964. James Farmer announced that the organization would devote more of its time and energy to rent strikes, local political activity by Negroes and such projects as the decision by Philadelphia CORE to set up a program of small neighborhood schools especially geared for pre-school training. CORE would also fight the usual urban renewal project which up to now has displaced Negro families into other slums while providing profits for developers and construction companies.

Even the NAACP has been caught up, to some extent, in the drive to make closer contact with the masses. One tentative plan is for the NAACP to open "sub-offices" in many of the ghettos to give advice and presumably some direction concerning the daily problems of slum dwellers. Martin Luther King meanwhile has been sounding exactly like Bayard Rustin (long a King adviser) as he talks of

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the need for a neo-Populist coalition between Negroes, labor, poor whites and such white liberals as will come along.

At the core of this new consensus—at least among the younger leaders in “the movement”—is the conviction that no power base in the ghetto or beyond it will be durable, let alone effective, unless the poor set policy, learn how to organize for themselves and take over their own leadership. The traditional middle-class leadership, in effect, must work for its own dissolution in so far as its vintage position as elitist guide is concerned. Robert Moses, the leading figure in the Mississippi Freedom Project, distills this viewpoint when he says of the masses of Negroes in that state: “All our work has to go into helping them reach the point where they decide the future for themselves.”

There is less of a consensus on the coalition element in the Rustin-King strategy. Little dispute exists that a coalition would ultimately be essential, but the skeptics point out how little evidence exists so far that even a sizable minority of organized labor, for instance, would be willing to be part of that neo-Populist grouping.

The unions are concerned only with their own members. In most cases, those laid off a year or more ago simply disappear from union ken. The concept of organizing the unemployed, moreover, is alien to the current breed of union leader although Walter Reuther and a few others have made small noises concerning the desirability of such a move. And there is as yet hardly any sign of enough young union leaders on the ascendant with sufficient commitment to basic social change to realize what must be done.

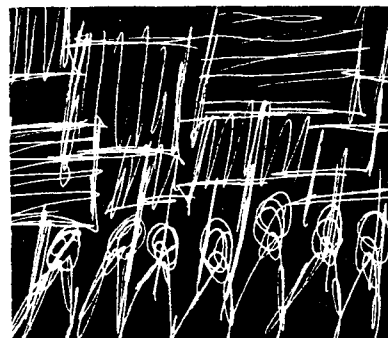
Yet King recently aided a union in Atlanta in its battle against Scripto, Inc., in an attempt to show other elements of organized labor that it could be to their benefit to ally themselves with civil rights groups. The skeptics inside “the movement,” however, doubt that any large-scale alliance between labor and civil rights groups will occur until cybernation more drastically decimates union jobs and makes union members more viscerally aware of how vulnerable they too are in the present economy.

Organizing the Poor

In any case, the current main thrust or planning beyond civil rights in the North is to lay a foundation for a putative coalition by first getting the Negro poor to marshal themselves for change in their own neighborhoods. For this to happen, much more needs to be learned about the dynamics of organizing the poor to organize themselves. What could be an important experiment in this area is the work of Students for a Democratic Society in projects in such cities as Newark, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chester, Chicago, Boston and New Brunswick.

The SDS staff, some of whom have taken a sabbatical from college and others of whom are graduates, act as catalysts in the ghettos, forming “community unions.” By spurring local citizenry to act in protest against immediate

injustices in housing or education or urban renewal or jobs, SDS tries to get a firm local nucleus of leadership. In Newark, much of that community union’s energy has been directed against an absurd urban renewal scheme. In Cleveland, among other activities, SDS organized Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, members of which have been demonstrating against the indignities and inadequacies endemic to present methods of welfare distribution.



Eventually, it is hoped, these organizations will also enter politics and elect first local and then Congressional legislators directly responsible to them. Similar plans to activate the Negro poor into becoming pressure groups are being devised by the Northern Student Movement which began with such projects as tutorial aid but soon realized that much more basic social change was needed if the ghettos are to break through apathy and despair.

Political Power

In Mississippi, the Council of Federated Organizations has, of course, taken political action through the formation of the Freedom Democratic Party. COFO meanwhile has also been working on attempts to have teams of its workers organize the white poor. A pilot project was begun in Biloxi, Mississippi, last summer; and according to present plans, by the end of three years, a third of COFO’s work will be with poor whites. In Biloxi, incidentally, integrated teams were used to canvass the white poor and the reaction was considerably less hostile than had been expected. The civil rights workers there were not talking integration. They were talking to the economic self-interest of the white poor, and some of the latter began to listen.

Another source of potential allies for organizing the white poor in the South is the relatively new Southern Student Organization Committee, a group of students from predominantly white Southern colleges. They not only oppose segregation but are also aware of the need for a much more viable economic system so that the “underclass,” to use Gunnar Myrdal’s term, can come into the society. In Atlanta this past fall, 144 students, most of them white, representing 43 schools in 11 Southern states, attended an SSOC conference. “We not only want to build a new South,” said one of them, “we want to build a new society in the South.”

Simultaneously, independent Negro leaders are planning their own ways of forming black power blocs. In December, 1964, an all-black conference was held in New York to discuss "The Black Revolution—A Struggle for Political Power." Among those present were Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strikes; the Reverend Milton Galamison, the most controversial of the planners of New York city school boycotts but also the one with the most persistence; Bill Strickland of the Northern Student Movement; and Malcolm X. They agreed, as Jesse Gray said, on the need for greater emphasis on organizing people around their day-to-day problems. Strickland added: "We must build around local needs, but people must learn that only a national solution is going to change their lives." Pervasive throughout the conference was the urgency of political action.

So far, however, all of these—and other—attempts to mobilize the underclass are just beginnings. Not only are tactics still uncertain but the very base of a program for a "new society" has yet to be worked out in any kind of consensus. The NAACP, the Urban League and, to some extent, CORE still talk as if all that were necessary to provide enough jobs are massive federal expenditures for public works and an end to discrimination by employers and unions. The "movement" has not yet engaged in widespread enough cognizance of and debate about the very real possibilities that work must be re-defined in view of the prognosis of cybernation and that such concepts as the guaranteed annual income may be acutely relevant rather than utopian.

Similarly, while the civil rights groups press for large sums for education, there has been far too little debate among them on what kind of education is essential. On what kinds of teachers and curricula are needed to produce spontaneous, creative *individuals* who would be able to function at maximum capacity in a social context involving a redefinition of work. If all that happens is a buttressing of the present lockstep school system, even if it is integrated, these efforts by "the movement" will have missed the root problem of present American education.

Along with lack of sufficient planning in depth, there is also the danger that the present thrust toward building a political base in the ghetto will be deflected by its leaders being co-opted into existing power structures. Business and political organizations are becoming quite skilful in diverting militancy from below. Those of the underclass with clear leadership capacity can now find a place for themselves in the society as it exists, and some have chosen to cultivate their own gardens.

There is the other danger that too many civil rights leaders will accommodate their militancy to the rhetoric of the Johnson Administration in the belief that his kind of "consensus" leadership will actually result in real changes in the way the poor live. So far all too few civil rights leaders have protested against the fact that in community after community, the boards being set up to decide how

federal "anti-poverty" funds are to be spent have practically no poor people on them. Nor has there been much protest at the ominous decision to deny a place in the projected Job Corps to youngsters with court records. Will this once again be the kind of federal aid-to-the-poor reserved mainly for those most likely to succeed and thereby reflect well on the government's beneficence? To my knowledge, neither Roy Wilkins or Whitney Young has yet asked that question publicly.

Problems

The "movement," in sum, from Whitney Young to Malcolm X is still much too imprecise about tactics and about programs. As for politics, for instance, how are Jesse Gray and his allies going to create a new kind of Negro political leader instead of the Powells and the Dawsons? On what specific legislative proposals will he run? On a national basis, how is the Democratic Party's easy confidence in the Negro vote to be shaken? Knowing it had 90 percent of the black vote in 1964, what kinds of pressures are going to be necessary to make the Democratic Party sufficiently uncertain of that vote to do a great deal more—and more concretely—for and with the poor?

And as a continuing obligato to talk of the need for political action by and through "the movement," there are still a few Negro intellectuals and their white sympathizers who speak of arming the masses for self-defense and who term last summer's violence only the first stage of "the rebellion" to come. At a recent private meeting in New York, Che Guevara was asked for his ideas on how to apply guerrilla warfare to the streets of New York. He was shocked at the question. "Here?" he said incredulously. "I speak not out of sympathy with your government, but out of reality when I tell you not to try guerrilla warfare in this country."

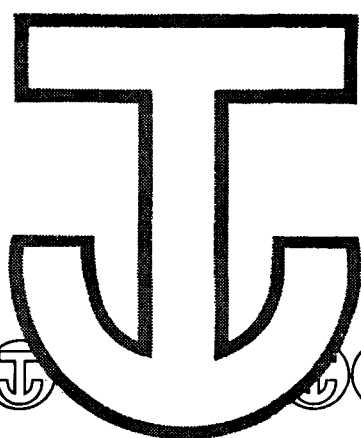
Guns will not bring the "new society;" or, if they do, it will be a transmogrification of the kind of life Robert Moses of SNCC envisions. And it will not be the kind of society 17-year-old Eddie Anderson of McComb, Mississippi, hopes for. Along with other youngsters from McComb, he was brought to New York for Christmas by SNCC. In Harlem, some Negro youngsters of HARYOU scoffed at non-violence and essentially, at hope of basic social change. One of them told Anderson: "What thrill you cats get out of being kicked around? Man, a real thrill is when they put the weight on you, you go in some subway and catch some cracker cat alone. Then you kick his can, take his money and leave the Mighty White Man there. Now, man, *that's* a thrill! What you doing later tonight?"

Guns won't work and subway raids won't work. Political action can work, but this direction has only begun to be taken by "the movement." The question is how much time the organizers have in which to learn to be effective as the gap between the underclass and the rest of the country deepens and another generation is stunted.



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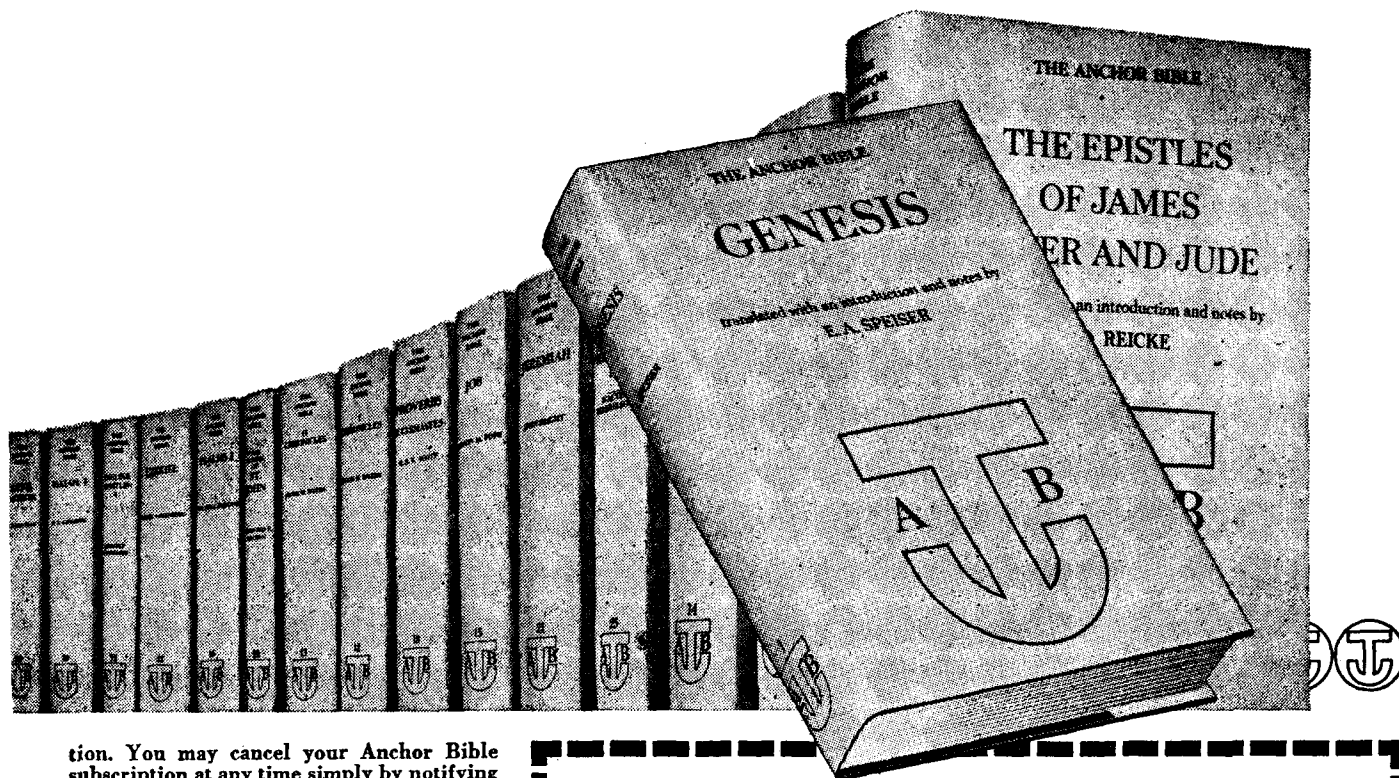
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The Church in America is firmly committed to the laity so far as its press is concerned, hence development of a new "new breed," would likely come from the recruitment of lay personnel. The difficulty is that here the Church faces rebuff. Even supposing immediate anxiety about involving the emerging generation of intellectuals in the Catholic press, the situation for the Church is quite different from when it was hiring the post-war intellectual. For the sterling example of lay mission volunteers notwithstanding, the impulses and interests of today's young lay intellectual extend in directions other than formal service to the Church. Most of today's young intellectuals could not care less for the Catholic press. It holds for them neither fascination nor inducement.

Looking Outside

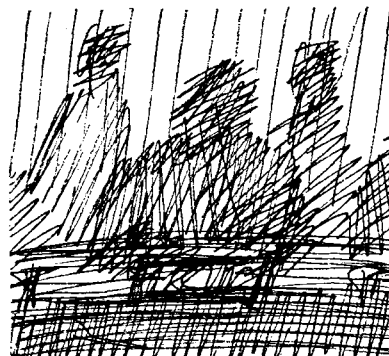
There are several explanations. One is that so many thoughtful young laymen, to their great credit, see their challenges in a secular framework. If Vatican Council II has really aimed to turn eyes toward the world, with no group has it been more successful than young American Catholics. Unlike his post-war counterpart, today's young intellectual considers his task not one of changing and elevating the Catholic community. He thinks of commitment in terms of the world, rather than the narrower precincts of the Church. He is alive to the dignity of the secular career and is anxious to work out salvation in a secular atmosphere. Accordingly, the young thinker with a gift for expression turns not to the official Church press; he lectures on campuses (preferably secular ones), writes books and fires off opinion pieces to secular magazines or those few Catholic journals that operate outside the orbit of clerical interference.

A second explanation has to do with the Catholic press' lack of fulfillment. The improvements of recent years mean little to young Catholics; not without reason they view the Catholic press as a house organ whose job it is to glorify and preserve the Establishment. As a journalism educator has commented: "Our students by and large do not think of the Catholic press as a professional medium."

Finally, there is the old Catholic press bugaboo—the unresolved conflict of freedom and authority. How free should the Catholic press be from confirmed and/or changing ecclesiastical authority? How independent should editor and writer be in the Catholic press? What should be their role in evolving public opinion? . . . These are all unanswered questions and especially pertinent to the young intellectual who has something on his mind and wishes to speak out forthrightly, without restrictions, and with no inhibitions born of timidity or fear. Today's young adult does not see in the Catholic press (at least the so called *official* Catholic press) any guarantee that he will be able to do so.

Having said all this, we still have not offered explanation for the basic problem—obvious contentment of the ordained

American Church with a static press of circumscribed quality. Why has this press improved so much and no more? Why are not actions being taken to build on the improvements since World War II? Why is the future going by default?



These are questions for which there are no ready answers. Our guess is that it simply has not occurred to those holding jurisdiction over the Catholic press to think beyond the pleasant present. We suspect those authorities who trouble about the matter reflect on the pathetic product of years not long past and console themselves with the current publication, instead of dreaming what this newspaper or magazine might be if extended greater freedom and funds. In other words, the mind is shut or the standards are relative.

Few bishops or religious superiors seem willing to settle for a totally substandard publication (although some do). But the overall state of the Catholic press makes it hard to dispel the impression that most, unconsciously at least, are quite comfortable with a press whose distinguishing mark is mediocrity. We pray the reason is not that editorial discretion is a greater virtue than frankness and that image-building is preferred to dialogue within the household.

ROBERT STEWART, S.M.

FOREVERS

How many times, out of sight,
mind has figured miles of unwalked
ways, almost crossed, and then uncrossed
chasms futile to the eye?

How many cries have caught long
in the heart's cracked throat, at last leapt
to singing at the skies mercies
for you?

And you, hymning in
regions where all beauties fuse
in light, have wished me, more than
eye on mind counts, forevers
beyond finalities of time,
where we (God knows) one day will meet.

19 February 1965: 667

Support from the public

DE GAULLE'S BOMB



JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH

The French Parliament has just approved a military budget which includes important credits for the atomic deterrent. And on the same occasion, the Government proclaimed its intention of pursuing to the end its policy of nuclear armament and its plan of testing a hydrogen bomb soon. That nuclear policy is at the root of its quarrel with Germany, which has agreed to M.L.F. It has become obvious that the atomic striking force is the pivot of President De Gaulle's foreign policy and that he will even withdraw from NATO rather than abandon that policy.

The parliamentary opposition voted against the project. But no one could have foreseen how badly these men would be defeated or how much popular support the policy would have attracted. To be sure, the Communist Party organized a few meetings. The trade unions said repeatedly that the striking force would take away funds needed for schools and hospitals. A league against nuclear armament, founded eighteen months ago under the leadership of Claude Bourdet, held a meeting in Paris. But clearly no one's heart was in it.

Even the French intellectuals, ordinarily so quick to protest against every abuse, have been silent, with a few exceptions. Whereas in England and Germany, scholars and theologians took the lead in campaigning against the atom bomb, in France only one such savant can be cited, the biologist, Jean Rostand—and to best of my knowledge not a single prominent theologian.

What is the cause of this apathy? At the outset it must be stated that public opinion took no significant part in the debate: nuclear armament had been initiated by the last governments of the Fourth Republic in a sort of secret fashion (and a bad conscience has continued to paralyze the opposition, since its leaders feel that they, also, had some responsibility in the matter). The new weapon was developed, always in shadows, under the protection of the war in Algeria. When the striking force emerged into the light to become a political problem, the French bomb already existed; and even its enemies did not dare to ask that it be thrown into the sea.

As to the intellectuals, their strength had been sapped by the seven years of Algerian war, the long struggle against

the army's use of torture and the effort to prevent France from going fascist. Peace in Algeria left the moral conscience of France exhausted, unequal to a new battle against nuclear armament. Moreover, such weapons helped to relieve us of the burden of a traditional army, which for the first time in French history had just attempted a *coup d'état*.

Another even more serious circumstance must be added to all these. The French are not warlike but they have never been pacifists; they even manifest a certain repugnance for pacifism because they have experienced its weakness and its ambiguity. To confine myself to more recent history, the pacifists of the 30's helped to disarm France without preventing the followers of Hitler from arming, and a certain number of these pacifists went over to Hitler's side after 1940, on the grounds that a live sheep is better than a dead lion. That tragic experience, which continues to lie dormant in the European unconscious, should never be forgotten. We have had occasion to test the value of certain convictions; we distrust moralism in politics since it often serves ends opposed to the objectives of politics. We also find it hard to take seriously the demand for unilateral disarmament which has developed in certain Anglo-Saxon circles; we seem to perceive in it a sentimental protest which goes beyond politics and which seeks to soothe consciences rather than to succeed.

Passivity and Cynicism

Such, I believe, is the root of the passivity of most French intellectuals and also of the cynicism which is one of the most unpleasant aspects of French opinion in general. But also discernible there, on the reverse side, is a sincere demand for simple coherence: it would seem to us hypocritical to protest in order to quiet our consciences when we know for certain that this would not enable us to prevent either national or international nuclear armament, at least through traditional pacifist activity. The attitude of the French Communist Party contributed to this scepticism: for the party holds that atomic bombs are criminal except for the Soviet bombs, which bring peace with them.

Most Frenchmen believe, more or less consciously, that it is not their bomb which is to blame anyway. Others began it; on what basis can these nations seek to forbid us from following in their footsteps? It is claimed that the

JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH is the editor of *Esprit*, the French monthly magazine founded by Emmanuel Mounier. This is his first appearance in *COMMONWEAL*.

Commonweal: 668

atomic bomb should remain the privilege of the two great world powers; but then, why Britain? Above all, why has the United States aided the English to master the atomic weapon and refused to communicate even the smallest atomic secret to the French? The French do not understand why they are reproached for the spread of these weapons when this proliferation began with the preferential treatment accorded Great Britain by the United States. This is also the source of the refusal to sign the Moscow test-ban agreement, which is generally considered to be an agreement of the atomic haves against the have-nots, and which even perhaps presents the rough outline of a twofold hegemony. It is a curious fact that many Frenchmen were more conscious of the threats in the Soviet-American agreement than they were of its promises; for they saw there a revival of the Yalta policy, which ended in the partition and satellization of Europe.

This leads us to the most important argument De Gaulle brings forward in support of his atomic striking force. One nation cannot entrust another with its security. First, because it will never be absolutely sure of being defended when the time comes. The French still have a complex about Munich; they feel ashamed for having abandoned, in 1938, a Czechoslovakia which was as necessary to them strategically then as France herself may be to the Americans now. And since a people which does not accept its primary duty of self-defense is a people that has given up, what part would the French have in deciding the destiny of Europe, their own destiny, if they began by renouncing the burden of their own national defense? Twenty years ago the United States abandoned to the Soviet Union a third of Europe, although at the time the U.S. had a nuclear-weapon monopoly. What would happen if the U.S.S.R. again became threatening, if American opinion again became isolationist? Europeans must be the first to decide the fate of Europe.

Admittedly France alone and its little striking force are powerless to assure the defense of Europe. But the problem is precisely to "create" Europe, in other words to bring together the resources of the European nations, in order to fashion a new political power of world rank—which means that no European nation would entrust its protection to an outside power, however friendly. If Europeans continue, each country by itself, to negotiate for American protection, they will never have either the will or the capacity to achieve their own unity. A politically united Europe presupposes, first of all, a common will and a willingness to risk something together. And an autonomous defense is precisely the test of Europe's will.

Such a line of argument moves the French Left, at least that sector of the Left which has always sought the path of a "neutralist" foreign policy, a policy independent of the United States. Actually, De Gaulle proclaims what this Left had already asserted: that the era of the two blocs is over. Neither ideology, nor political order need now entail solidarity with a strategic bloc.

Many countries in Asia and Africa, and doubtless soon in South America as well, opt for a socialist regime: but this does not necessarily align them with the Soviet bloc in the Cuban pattern. Another possibility should be made available to them within the non-Communist world, a model different from the American one—and one which allows them to remain in the free world, while at the same time renouncing free enterprise. And should not Europe herself be at the head of this "third force," whose model would be a mixed society committed to a priority of needs and retaining a solidarity with the poor societies of the underdeveloped world?

Gaullism Distorted

I have felt it necessary to reproduce the Gaullist argument because it is too frequently distorted in the United States, where people like to see in it only a shrill demand for power. In doing so, I have probably defended the policy in the direction of my own hopes. I do believe that the era of blocs has ended and that the era of decolonization continues; I think that France should dissociate herself from American policy as pursued in regard to Cuba and Vietnam; I believe that Europe can have a destiny other than that of supplying satellites to the two Great Powers, that our continent is capable of proposing a type of society other than that of the United States. Obviously in this I am close to certain Gaullist arguments, and a number of Left intellectuals in France would have a similar point of view.

But that does not mean that we accept the apologetics for nuclear retaliation, the exalting of national independence for its own sake and a distrust of initiative toward peace, all of which characterize De Gaulle's policy as well. We are convinced that the striking force has no future: its burden will soon be too heavy for our economy. We understand De Gaulle's unwillingness to take the easy way by abandoning it. But this determination, if applied to France alone, can lead only to the impasse of nationalism.

Would Europe be able again to take on this new responsibility on its own account? The answer depends on all Europeans. But most of them prefer the comfort of American protection to the risks and burdens of European independence. Humiliated, divided, and now hungering after well-being, Europe has not yet found the faith needed for setting itself to rights. Europe rejects the question which De Gaulle puts to it and in a way is right to do so, for he poses it in a provocative manner and within a narrowly national perspective. However, it remains the essential question. If Europe is capable of a will toward autonomous destiny, it will cease to serve as an objective, as a stake for the Great Powers, and will become instead an agent of diversity and *détente*; it will prove the possibility of moving beyond the national phase of political development. Then—with or without the atomic bomb—it will have served the cause of peace, not by words, but by deeds.

THE STAGE

But the play works: you can sit in the stalls ticking off

HANS KÜNG: “The Council”

Copies of last week's, February 12 issue are available while the supply lasts. 25c a copy; 10 or more, 20c each; 50 or more, 15c each. Postpaid.

Whatever the Brooklyn plays are ostensibly about (and

I use the word "Brooklyn" generically), this background must be kept in place by the viewer. Future audiences may find this harder to do. The depression still lingers in the Miller house. In real life, the old neighborhood has already changed. Miller's Brooklynners sound slightly out of date, which gives the plays an undeserved air of spuriousness. (Danny Kaye's Brooklyn imitation also sounds slightly out of date; Brooklyn jokes in general sound out of date.) It may be partly this speed of change that makes writers like Miller leave home in the first place. The neighborhood leaves them before they leave it. Houses go down, highways go in, people move out. What's to stay for? And if Miller wanted to get out of the Miller house, who can blame this man? Talent in America is a ticket to somewhere else, and even if you have to leave the ticket at home, it may still be worth it.

In the new production, Robert Duvall as the tormented uncle and Ramond Bieri as his vengeful Sicilian cousin-in-law are particularly fine. The shout-scene in the last act might seem a bit too much for sensitive ears, but if you like a good shout in the theater, well, here you have one.

WILFRID SHEED

NOT FOR BURNING



THE SCREEN

George Bernard Shaw, in his fascinating preface to "Saint Joan," refers to her as "one of the first Protestant martyrs" and comments later on the continuing "Roman Catholic evasions of her unconscious Protestantism." In answering the question, "how did the Church get over the verdict at the first trial when it canonized Joan five hundred years later?" Shaw decides that in the Catholic Church "there is no wrong without a remedy," and he goes on to define a saint "as a person of heroic virtue whose private judgment is privileged." The definition fits Joan well, as no doubt Shaw meant it to. If the Protestants want to claim Joan, they may do so. But she insisted that she was a good Catholic; and even though she temporarily revoked under pressure, she proclaimed from the stake that the voices *were* from God.

Discussion and works of art about Joan seem endless. So perhaps in these days of Vatican II, this is as good a time as any to bring out a new film about Joan. Actually Robert Bresson's "Trial of Joan of Arc" was made in 1962 and shown at the 1963 New York Film Festival. But only now is it being generally released. Any Bresson movie is a welcome addition to the art of cinema. He has made only six films, none a great box-office success, but all worthy of consideration. Two ("Diary of a Country Priest" based on the Bernanos book, and "A Man Escapes" which

details a Frenchman's escape from a German prison) could well be listed among the best films of all time. Perhaps the new "Trial of Joan of Arc" will be too.

Like this great French director's other films, it is sparse, beautifully photographed, and definitely the work of Bresson himself. He wrote the script from the original records and the transcript of the trial. It is true that he was responsible for the editing of what was said, but the give-and-take between Joan and the judges has an authenticity seldom achieved on stage or screen; and Bresson seems to be making no effort to take sides. There is no sentimentalizing or softening of Joan (who was indeed a difficult person and no doubt very trying to the court); and there is no villainizing of her judges, cruel as they may have been in their accusations, in the treatment accorded her as a prisoner, and in their punishment after they found her guilty.

One must never forget, however, that this is the fifteenth century, and burning-at-the-stake was by no means a rarity. Once again, Robert Bresson is particularly successful with his cast who are, as is usual with his pictures, non-professionals. He depends on his performers' looks; and he drills people until he gets just what he wants. He has an aversion to actors, who, he insists, always act. In "Trial of Joan of Arc," the characters are not acting; they are the people themselves. Bresson's success with this system is most apparent in the portrait of Bishop of Cauchon, played by Jean-Claude Fourneau, a handsome man with a kindly face, who makes the interrogator stern, strict, dogmatic, but manages to convey a touch of compassion for the Maid of Orleans. As the Maid, Florence Carrez, gives an amazing performance that is really not a performance but a realistic portrayal of a nineteen-year-old girl who is certain of herself beyond her years and determined to stick to her story of the voices. She is convincingly a warrior saint and a woman "of heroic virtue whose private judgment is privileged."

As with Bresson's other films, your appreciation and interest depend greatly on what you bring to them. Although I approached another Joan of Arc film somewhat coolly, I soon found myself warming up to the drama, a trial film that is more like a documentary than a staged movie. The story, even though one knows its outcome, is engrossing; and Bresson's technique, seemingly artless, is perfection itself. The dialogue, aided by good English subtitles for those who don't know French, is fascinating; and the camera, focusing on the faces and stark sets, captures our interest too. Although somewhat similar to Dreyer's famous film on Joan, I found myself preferring the Bresson version, mainly because of the spoken words from the records and because of its unswerving realism. After the burning-at-the-stake (which is not shown but is indicated effectively) one is again reminded of Shaw and the final speech of his play: "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Our hero vs. war, women and Washington

P. S. Wilkinson

C. D. B. BRYAN

Harper and Row, \$5.95

BRIAN WILKIE

In *P. S. Wilkinson*, the Harper Prize Novel for 1965, C. D. B. Bryan tells the story of Wilkinson's experiences in truce-time Korea (to which he carries an ROTC commission from Yale), his subsequent, tragi-comically unsuccessful attempts to find a place and meaningful human relationships in civilian life, and the ultimate fiasco of his being called up for a second round with the Army during the Berlin crisis.

He blunders through a quasi-affair with his former college sweetheart, now unhappily married, is rejected by the CIA because a lie-detector has somehow managed to label him a homosexual (the CIA is itself rather suspect on this score, the novel implies), is brutally roughed up during a desperate and misguided "sentimental journey" to old haunts in Baltimore's night-town district, cynically takes a job with a New York bank in order to have some institutional or occupational label to pin on himself, and then, ironically, finds himself re-absorbed by that paradigm of all "institutions," the Army. There, in the final episode of the novel, Wilkinson is forced to recognize that, despite his reluctance to rebel against institutions, their codes cannot be reconciled with his own confused but human moral imperatives.

Depending on what one believes a novel ought to be, one could either praise *P. S. Wilkinson* for not being ridden into the ground by its "theme" or attack it because it muddies its own waters by digressions and (on a smaller scale) incongruous witticisms which one suspects are in the book because the author just couldn't resist them. In any case, it is not always easy to decide when the novel is simply trying to tell

its hero's story and when it is trying to develop a structural idea. As I have already implied, the idea here seems to be the conflict between a man's own insights and standards and those that are officially imposed, whether by a tradition-defined Old Family, by a prep school that inflexibly worships its half-hollow Honor Code, by an Army that demands of its officers a ludicrous sense of *noblesse*, by government service, or by marriage. Thus most of the episodes in the book can be thought of as explorations either of personal dilemmas or of institutional ethics.

Oddly enough, in view of Bryan's sympathies and his point, he does better by institutions than by people, at least in making them convincing. He writes best when his subject is a well-defined milieu like the prep school or Baltimore or the Army; indeed, veterans of the peacetime Army will find that Bryan has portrayed truthfully and without satiric distortion the peculiar dreamlike misplacement of emphasis that consistently characterizes Army life.

But when Bryan tries to show people acting and feeling he often fails pretty badly. Many of these scenes are written in soap-opera prose and dialogue—not so much the old radio type as the new and relatively sophisticated television type: "What's wrong, Cynthia?" "Oh, nothing. . . . *Everything!* It's *all* wrong! *We're* wrong! What's happened to us? Oh, Curt, don't you see?" Bryan didn't write that and is never that bad, but he comes close, as in the following: "Phil?" Linda asked quietly. "Yes?" "Phil, what's the matter with us?" "What do you mean, 'what's the matter with us?'" "I mean—oh, I don't know. I mean, there's just something the matter with us, that's all." Admittedly people do sometimes talk that way, especially people who go to plays, but that only helps prove the paradox that what is pre-

sented accurately doesn't always seem real, much less interesting.

Wilkinson himself sometimes comes alive, especially when he has a well-defined scene to move in, and so do certain minor characters like a group of Baltimore prostitutes, but the other people are almost astonishingly featureless. Hilary, the hero's sweetheart, is my nomination for the most perfectly blank, most nearly nonexistent human being in fiction.

For all this, *P. S. Wilkinson* is a readable book. It moves; and I can think of many more skillfully written novels that don't. Bryan doesn't think it is contemptible or beneath his dignity to tell a story, and if I haven't praised his novel enough for doing that, it's because critics are still as far as ever from being able to explain sheer narrative skill. (Imagery and themes and structure, yes; story-telling, no.) Whatever the limits of his psychological

HERBERT BURKE

SIGHT IS THE EYE OF THE MIND

Again
the maple single below
the banking of this road
has lost brief crimson

across this land
it is now the turn
of oak and leathers of oak

aspen may be impulsive

oak repeats brown
speaking earth and end
without the amazing gold
or reds lost with early October
and its face

oak exists until tempest

oak holds the moment of morning

insight, Bryan can narrate, and that is one sign that he may be back with a better book some time soon.

Bad Characters

JEAN STAFFORD

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$4.95

THOMAS CURLEY

I don't intend faint praise by saying that it's always a pleasure to read Jean Stafford but a distinction, since it is a pleasure, and neither instruction nor enthusiasm, that is Miss Stafford's gift. It is, however, somewhat qualified praise to say that it is a long while since I have *simply* enjoyed a new book so much. (Seven of the ten stories appeared in the *New Yorker*, but they are all new to me.) Qualified, because Miss Stafford so manages her characters that you always like and dislike the ones she likes and dislikes.

Her intelligence is acute, her heart is in the right place and she writes well: it is rather like going through a museum with somebody who knows the paintings so much better than you that it is impossible not to agree and very difficult not to be persuaded. It seems to me she is better when she stands off from her characters omnisciently than when she adopts the voice, let us say, of Emily Vanderpool. As Miss Stafford says in a note, Emily is not a bad character; her troubles stem from the low company she kept. That's true enough, but I was rather glad that Emily's control of the story was not extended to the length of a novel. With one exception, criticism of these stories is impertinent: nothing need be said because it has all been said well by the author. The exception is *A Winter's Tale*, the short novel at the end of the book. It is a beautiful story, one in which the problem of the narrator has been solved perfectly. The woman who tells the story is thirty seven years old, married and with children. But: "... what I address so assiduously is a winter of my youth, irrelevant to all my present situations, a half year so sharply independent of all my later history that I read it like

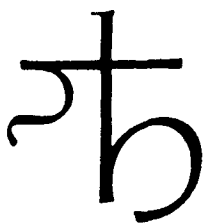
a fiction; or like a dream in which all action is instinctive and none of it has its genesis in a knowledge of right and wrong."

We, too, read it like a fiction and the twenty-year-old Boston Irish girl who goes to Heidelberg during her junior year at Boston College (a young lady at Boston College in the thirties?) has, indeed, little to do with the thirty-seven-year-old mother recalling her youth. Her father, an ascetic Boston Irishman and a widower, accompanies Fanny as far as Paris, where he remains to be scandalized but sends his daughter on to Heidelberg to master German under the watchful eye of Frau Professor Galt, a Boston Yankee convert married to an atheist Scot.

Persis Galt is *the* bad character of the volume. At first meeting she is the convert to end all converts. Upon retiring to her "chaste cell" to read the noon office, she asks Fanny: "would you like a rosary? Or will you simply meditate?" But she is more than silly, she is wicked, and Fanny's tale brings out her wickedness with a civilized rel-

ish that few men would be capable of. Hate sees clearly and Persis Galt deserves this hatred. And yet, and yet: what would Miss Stafford have done if she had attempted to write from within Persis Galt?

As Fanny sees her, she is so purely evil that one suspects one is dealing not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers. Evil, of course, is unknowable as such, since it is a privation which can only be known impurely, as it inheres in good, and that is reason enough for Miss Stafford to choose to stay outside her. What bothers me, however, is that her fastidious aloofness to the human nature of Frau Professor Galt limits Miss Stafford's range in other stories as well. I am thinking less of this present volume than of her future work, for it is not clear how she can get any better unless she is willing to get her hands, and her mind, a little dirty. She might, for instance, cultivate a few sociologists to see if she could bring her prose back pure. Jean Stafford is too good a writer to stand still.



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PAUL VELDE

Failing to realize one's ideals is more human than most errors. Even something as ugly as race prejudice, if seen primarily as a failure of ideals, tends to fall into the category of simple human failing and is mitigated, if not actually redeemed, by the brute fact of its universality. When those ideals are specifically American, as in the definition of the American Dilemma, the situation is further burdened by conflicting ideals, the great mass of cultural matter, much of it extrinsic, that goes into making up the national identity.

Simple human failing is not, of course, the theme of this collection of essays. But Ralph Ellison writes from an appreciation of the great complexity of his subject. It is consistent of him to fault Leroi Jones, in a review of *Blues People*, for theorizing about American Negro subculture while "ignoring the intricate network of connections which binds Negroes to the larger society." The key word is "binds," and the complaint is oddly reminiscent of the fireworks that used to go on between the Slavophiles and Marxists in pre-revolutionary Russia before events settled matters.

The difference is that Ellison is not a chauvinist, but, rather, recognizes that in the concept of race Negroes have a permanent stake. He argues that these connections to the larger society, cultural in the deepest sense, in some ultimate way (moral?) fuse the American Negro's quest for self-identity with the task of realizing American social ideals. A large order, but it enables Ellison to confound the racial limits set on Negro identity. Unfortunately, this involves in the eyes of both races questions of legitimacy beyond the claims of a common humanity.

The appeal of this collection is in its essential humanism, which prevades even the earliest, harried pieces written nineteen years ago. The spirit is conscious in Ellison, but of even greater

importance, he claims it by right of inheritance and probably with more authority than most of us could muster. Indeed, how many Americans can recall the "renaissance man" as a boyhood ideal, which in Ellison was fostered between the wars in Oklahoma City's Negro community. The argument flows over into fond recollection as Ellison describes the lingering air of the Oklahoma frontier and the multiplicity of talents present in the community, concluding that the milieu offered a measure of freedom for him and others extending beyond the formal limits imposed on the race.

Through a variety of disciplines, especially in music and oratory, Negroes were able to create that freedom. By the same process they were able to draw upon the larger society and make it a part of their own—and in certain instances affect it, as with jazz and the blues—while remaining subject to its oppression and frequent terror. Such are the early sources of Ellison's own creative imagination and, in his view, the shifting but historic reality on which American Negro creativity must build. Determined not to see that possibility closed off by exclusive forms of ideology, he rejects, also, the tangibility of ideology for the shadowy past that lies between the American experience and its dormant ideals.

Ellison illuminates other aspects of that shadow in his essays on literature, folklore and American Negro music. In a long and excellent piece on Stephen Crane and others, on the social and moral dimension of 19th-century American fiction, he sets out to show that the tradition of resistance in our literature derives from the same culture it protests against. The apogee of that tradition, as well as its point of greatest transparency, Ellison sees occurring on the raft in the Mississippi with Jim and Huck, specifically when Huck decides to break the law to free Jim. The question raised, of course, is where do we find our free-floating rafts today, or a lingering air of the frontier for that matter. He suggests, in one of the interviews included in the book, that the answer may lie in some "new cultural

synthesis" toward which he thinks the world is moving, and partly through the "discipline imposed by technology." Ellison, by his argument, is virtually forced to take a progressive view of history.

Of 20th-century authors, Ellison feels closest to Hemingway, admiring the ideal of technique; however, the admiration is checked by the absence of a social dimension in Hemingway's fiction. There is a contradiction here that Ellison fails to confront, though he seems aware of it. That is the close similarity between Hemingway and his contemporaries, in their turn away from society and America's proclaimed ideals, and Negroes in a hostile society; for both responded by emphasizing technique, creating a freedom against society. Hence the austerity of style and rejection of rhetoric, largely geared to keep that society at bay. It created a shield by which artists, white and non-white, could function within society without becoming part of it, that is, subject to its values and ultimately its judgment. Ellison's own style, on the contrary, is rather rhetorical, the sort of writing that can, as it does on one occasion, refer to the ideals on which the country was founded as "sacred." It is unfashionable today as it was in Hemingway's time.

The reason for this is not that artists have not regained interest in the world around them, if indeed they had ever lost it. The attitude is much more curious than that, for it recognizes the imperfection of artistic technique as a shield. Technique merely implies another value, one of many, and thus a matter of taste, to be taken or left alone. And of course, it's an old story that society is basically indifferent to what does not reflect it.

So instead, we have the phenomenon of artists adopting and in some cases, as with the Pop Artists and other producers of "anti-art," imitating and affirming what is most noxious and degrading in American society. There is a certain fatalism in such art, and perhaps its real impulse is to get out from under the weight of that shadow Ellison describes, which by its amorphous

and shifting style can be as oppressive as any doctrinaire ideology. The impulse is not satiric, there is nothing socially redeeming about this art; quite the opposite, it rejects resistance, in the 19th-century tradition or in the semi-mystical ("aloneness") of the 20th, in favor of adding to the oppressiveness.

Hence its confidence, for adaptability is its supreme virtue. Its inspiration, at least originally, might be akin to the death-bed exhortation of the grandfather in *The Invisible Man* to "agree 'em (the white man) to death and de-

struction, let 'em swoller you till they vomit or bust wide open." When time is at a premium death-bed wisdom abounds. Ellison is not in that business, but it is nonetheless surprising that the element of speed, which gave the rights movement its revolutionary character and even this collection its sense of movement, the element of speed which is perhaps the prime characteristic of the present age, is entirely absent in Ellison's writing. As opposed to this, American artists abound who seem to be trying to speed up some process of

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social disintegration toward some grotesque finale. As expediters they differ in ends from Marxists who would hurry history through the degradation of a class; no new day is prophesied. However, a similar question of complicity is raised, not to be resolved until, if it should happen, the inversion from artist to anti-artist becomes complete and final.

Ellison would also be on the side of the future, but he refuses to accept an ideology of the future that ignores the victims of the present. He can do this because he sees potential in the undefined quantity of the present, which by the terms of another ideology is the supreme quality of the American experience. However, only by remaining unrealized do ideals exist, and likewise only as undefined does a thing have potential. The resolution of the American Dilemma, stated as a failure of specifically American ideals, thus extends into infinity conceived as an extremely plastic system, the undefined, unlimited American experience again. But inasmuch as that experience is governed by limited possibilities, at least in time, they too are the ideal. Intention by this chemistry has a way of becoming accomplished fact, the limits of possibility the ideal.

The current impasse in the rights movement is similarly in danger of being idealized, by what might be called (not entirely with tongue in

cheek) a utopian pragmatism: pragmatic because it accepts the possibilities of the given situation, and utopian because that given is endowed with the aura of an absolute. Imagination, both political and moral, is replaced by a profound concept of plasticity that happily requires no leap into the unknown. If only ideals were not primarily a matter of belief. But we recall that Horatio Alger's first lesson in real-think was not to accept the finite possibilities of the free enterprise system, but rather to know what would satisfy him, what would make him that magic creature called Horatio Alger. He thus created a new kind of American experience known today as marrying the boss's daughter.

Ellison is not so easily labeled, however; he is both pragmatic and utopian, and in another sense neither. He realizes that any final answer to the question of the American Negro's identity depends upon what vast numbers of Negroes are now thinking and how they are acting. Most of this is taking place beneath the surface, an unknown quantity. His insistence that their thoughts and acts are being shaped by the Negro's American identity as well as his racial experience simply labels him American. On the other hand, one wonders whether either is relevant in the traditional sense of ideals and cultural past. For whatever its great qualities, the Renaissance is over.

PIERRE BONNARD EXHIBIT

ART

The retrospective exhibition of Pierre Bonnard which has been the chief delight of the season in New York, at the Museum of Modern Art, is now at the Chicago Art Institute and will reach the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in April. For sheer sensuous pleasure this panorama of the work of Bonnard would be hard to beat; in addition it unfolds a subtle, complex and ardent originality that never wearies. Easy as

it is to love Bonnard, it is only with the opportunity (which this exhibit splendidly affords) of seeing a large number of his finest works that one is able to appreciate the backbone of his creative talent.

Bonnard's art has been compared to an iceberg in the way he has transported impressionism into twentieth century art (Michael Benedict in the *October Art News*) but it is even more

like an iceberg in that it has greater undertones than dazzling surface. After the first shock of color, one glimpses the playfully interlocking patterns; when the forms assert themselves, the indoor or outdoor space which they appear to haunt blooms in a coherent, poetic whole. J. T. Soby says there is a hide-and-seek solution as to what is meant to be on view, and there is a strange and wonderful fluidity about Bonnard's expression—but as with the cumulative effect of a good musical composition, every note falls into place, and fulfills a place in a memorable unity.

In fact, there is such a perfect harmony of elements—diverse, subtle and elusive as they are—in Bonnard's mature compositions, that it is hard to tell, for instance, when figures take on color from their surroundings or vice versa. A loving glow spreads from living flesh, from tiles, wallpaper, flowers, fruit, from out-door sunlight and from the shadows of an interior. Bonnard's humor and fantasy, his juggling of forms, have a teasing tenderness. He is the most lover-like of painters.

Bonnard is always described as shy, Madame Bonnard (who inhabits some of his paintings and haunts innumerable others) has been described as "legendarily" shy. The faint pencil drawing in the exhibit entitled "Woman Opening Door" represents this shyness better than a thousand anecdotes. In Bonnard's work this shyness is in a way still inviolate, each painting being a sort of secret hermetic environment, a poetic moment suspended in time. In the four extraordinary self-portraits included in the exhibit (the last painted two years before his death in 1947) his reserve is most eloquent at the moment when he makes the supreme effort of a confrontation. The head and shoulders of the artist are set forth against glowing or invading color, but his gaze is abstracted, his thoughts and his personality remain his own and inscrutable. In a way the very idea of a portrait—an individual picked out of his world—is antipathetic to Bonnard's genius; the result of his success was to portray the seclusion of his being. The face is not

a mask (like Rouault's usually are, for example) nor is it featureless (like most of his representations of women) but it is like a facade upon which only time and his environment can act.

There are several very striking differences between the painting of Bonnard and that of his close friend Vuillard, an exhibition of whose work was also fortunately given last fall in N. Y., at the Wildenstein Gallery. Their similarity as intimists, their love of everyday objects, the patterned bourgeois interiors, their 'new' way of employing impressionist techniques—all these things fall away before a broad view of their paintings. Bonnard is not only immeasurably bolder and more far-ranging in his orchestration of elements, but his work always has an extended poetic dimension. Where Vuillard's finest painting remains tied closely to an observed and felt reality, Bonnard's soars to independent life. *The Artist's Mother*, Vuillard's painting of an old lady sewing by a window framing an outdoor winter scene, is a perfect circle, an enchanting evocation of a cosy bourgeois interior dappled with winter light. The dazzled forms and colors remain anchored to reality, the composition anchored to the old lady. Bonnard's *Dining Room In The Country* is by contrast a creation rather than an evocation, the apotheosis of a summer's day. From indoors to outdoors and back again, the colors and patterns of wallpaper, fruit, flowers and grassy blooming distance, the strange woman leaning in at the window sill, the kitten in the chair, the suffused tablecloth on the round table and the diaphanous sky all flow into a poetic harmony that is beyond reality, and has a reality of its own.

BETTY KAUFMAN

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BRIAN WILKIE teaches in the English Department at the University of Illinois.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 651)

Church in the 1820's. Nearly thirty years ago the late J. Elliot Ross, writing on England and his constitution in *COMMONWEAL* ["Who Are the Laity?" (November 20, 1936)], stated, "Paradoxically, he cured the evils of trusteeship by granting to the laity a larger degree of participation in the apostolate of the hierarchy than they enjoyed in other American dioceses." And what Father Ross said of the diocesan constitution and its conventions was, indeed, true, namely, that "Religiously and spiritually nothing but good came of them."

It is difficult to see, therefore, why something of that kind would not serve a constructive purpose today in bringing the laity into more active participation in the life of the Church, without

impairing—as it did not in the nearly twenty years it was in operation in the Diocese of Charleston—the legitimate rights and powers of the bishops. The only demur that I would enter to Mr. Traynor is his exaggeration of England's influence in such statements as that the first Bishop of Charleston "dominated the Catholic Church in America for twenty-two years as no other prelate has ever done." One could easily name a half dozen American bishops whose 'dominance' was more widespread and more generally accepted than that of John England. Mr. Traynor might likewise have brought out more clearly the safeguards by which England protected his episcopal rights in the diocesan constitution by reserving to the bishop a veto over the proceedings of the priests and laity.

The second point relates to the question of authority itself in the Church. One does not have to read the papers of the sixteen contributors—including

an archbishop, a bishop, and an abbot—to the symposium held at the Abbey of Notre Dame du Bec in April, 1961, and later published as *Problems of Authority* (Helicon, 1962), to know that today there are such problems, and that there is every likelihood that some of them are going to be with us for some time to come. Just as there is every prospect that the high centralization of authority and power in the Pope and the Roman Curia that have marked the Church's life since the fall of Napoleon, will, to some extent, have to give way if the collegiality of the bishops is to operate in a real way, so the enhanced position of the laity has brought about a situation where the bishops face the necessity of what one may call, for want of a better word, a "decentralization" of the functions and powers that have hitherto reposed directly in their own persons or in the hands of their diocesan curia and clergy.

How precisely the adjustment is to be made, no man can at the moment tell. In some places it has already moved at a quick pace, as in the Archdiocese of Montreal where, as is well known, nearly three years ago, Cardinal Leger gave over the entire archdiocesan school board from priests to laymen. The Diocese of Breda in The Netherlands has recently demonstrated another approach in the setting up of an institute on the initiative of Bishop Gerard H. De Vet wherein the Augustinian friars will train what are termed "spiritual advisers" from among the laity. The director, Father A. Vermeulen, is quoted as saying that pastors will have to accustom themselves to recognizing laymen as competent assistants in the spiritual care of the faithful, to which he added, "It is obvious that in the beginning this will encounter some difficulties." [Harry M. Satink, "A New Dutch Venture," *The Tablet* (January 16, 1965)].

Indeed, it is obvious, and it is just as obvious that if the clergy and laity are to co-operate closely in this new relationship so as to implement the goal of *De Ecclesia* that "the whole Church, strengthened by each one of its mem-

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bers, may more effectively fulfill its mission for the life of the world," restraint and patience are going to be demanded on the part of both. COMMONWEAL is justified, it seems to me, in citing the Charleston diocesan constitution of over 140 years ago and in suggesting that something of the kind is feasible today. But I think it is equally true that in pressing for action from the top we—priests and laymen—must watch lest we lose sight of the indispensable necessity of authority itself in the Church, of the power given by Christ to Peter, his fellow apostles, and to their successors, an authority which the true Catholic conscience cannot overlook no matter how eager one may be to further the *aggiornamento*. For to be unmindful of the fact of authority, would be to disregard the very nature of the Church and its hierarchical structure. No amount of theorizing about the democratic character of contemporary society and of the free world's emphasis on individual liberty, will alter the fundamental nature of the Church as fixed by Christ Himself.

Yet all of this does not for a moment mean that priests and laymen must still their voices, that they must remain silent in the face of episcopal or clerical immobility. On the contrary, not only may the laity continue to plead, to urge, and even to press for action—provided that it be done in a manner befitting the rules of polite discourse and courteous exchange of views—but such may even become for them a duty in conscience. The point was admirably summed up, I think, in the inspiring volume, *The Splendour of the Church*, by Henri de Lubac, S.J., in what he had to say about the 'man of the Church,' and how the latter should conduct himself vis-à-vis authority. Father de Lubac stated:

"He will, if it should be necessary, do all that he can to enlighten authority; that is something which is not merely a right but also a duty, the discharge of which will sometimes oblige him to heroism. But the last word does not rest with him."

It is the final sentence here that embodies the saving principle, for it is the

acceptance or rejection of that principle that makes the difference between the true 'man of the Church' and the Catholic who refuses, in Father de Lubac's words, to look upon his home, the Church, as "a house of obedience."

The third and final point relates to the spirit in which one criticizes the action, or lack of action, of ecclesiastical authorities. All of us are of different temperaments and dispositions, and thus some are more impatient with delay and more insistent than others that changes be brought about at once. But just as the priest or the layman reveals himself in how he expresses his views about the Church and about her rulers so, in turn, will the rulers show a variety of reactions to the goading, so to speak, that they receive from their clergy and laity. That the bishop whose nature it is to weigh all possible contingencies before he makes a decision, will at times try those over whom he rules, is evident; and *a fortiori* the one who refuses to move at all will frequently give cause for exasperation. Yet above all else the criticism one offers must be polite, free from the "sting" that has of late appeared here and there in the writings of a few laymen.

While one can understand the cause for restiveness in certain quarters and circumstances, it would be a fatal error to allow oneself to give expression to mean or unfair remarks. Not only is this sort of speaking or writing often unjust toward the party at whom it is directed, but the very cause that the speaker or writer wishes to promote is damaged by the petulant and rude approach. That kind of sterile conduct characterized the European anti-clericals of the last century, a spirit from which the American Church has for the most part been mercifully free. And it will remain free if Christian charity continues to animate clerical-lay relations in the Catholic community of the United States as it has done through most of their past.

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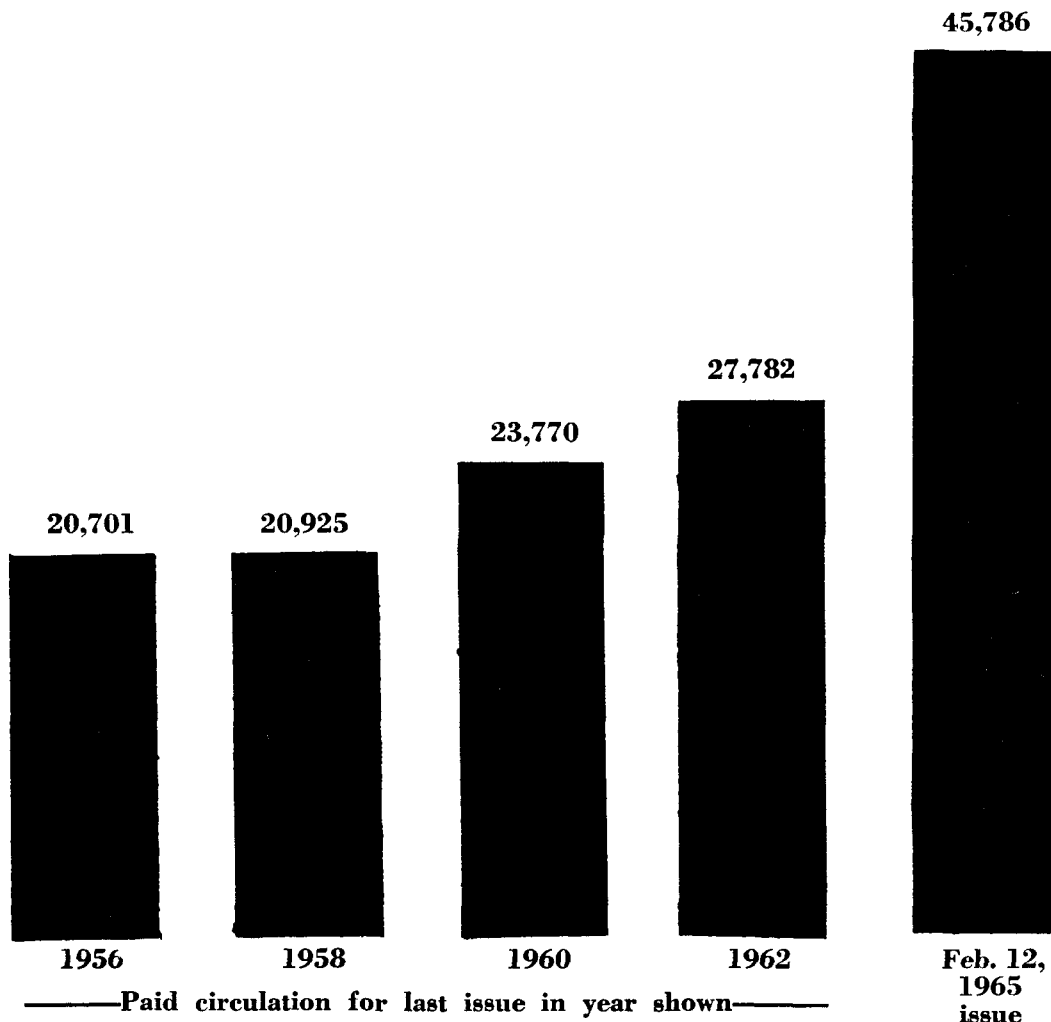
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